

## Message Text

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SUBJECT: DC LEFT AT SAINT VINCENT REJECT HISTORIC COMPROMISE

REF: ROME 15248

SUMMARY: THE DC LEFT CONCLUDED ITS MEETING AT SAINT VINCENT SEPT. 19 IN AGREEMENT ON TWO BASIC POINTS: THAT THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE MUST BE REJECTED AT ALL COSTS, AND THAT ZACCAGNINI (WHO HAD BEEN ATTACKED FOR INEFFECTIVENESS) DESERVED CONTINUED SUPPORT AS THE FIRST SECRETARY DIRECTLY ELECTED BY THE PARTY CONGRESS. THERE WAS LESS CONSENSUS ON WHAT THE DC'S RELATIONSHIP SHOULD BE WITH THE PCI, THE PSI AND OTHER LAY PARTIES IN THE POST-ELECTION SITUATION. IN HIS SUMMATION SPEECH, FORZE NUOVE LEADER DONAT CATTIN ARGUED FOR NEW UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE PSI AND LAY PARTIES TO BLOCK PCI ADVANCES BY FORMATION OF A NEW CENTER-LEFT GOVERNMENT. THIS CONTRASTED WITH THE MINORITY VIEW OF BASE LEADER DE MITA WHO FORESAW A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM (DC AND PCI) OF ALTERNATING POWER IN WHICH CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES WOULD SOMEHOW BE PROTECTED BY "INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS." MOROTEI LEADERS PRESENT FOUND NO SUPPORT FOR THEIR

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PROPOSAL TO REINFORCE ZACCAGNINI'S "POPULAR" LEADERSHIP

WITH MORO'S EXPERTISE THROUGH THE DEVICE OF A "POLITICAL OFFICE" FOR "COLLEGIAL" PARTY ADMINISTRATION. END SUMMARY.

1. AFTER THE INITIAL SESSION DEVOTED TO FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES (ROME 15248), THE SAINT VINCENT PARTICIPANTS GRAPPLED WITH THE PROBLEM OF WHAT THE DC'S RELATIONSHIP SHOULD BE WITH THE PCI, AS WELL AS WITH THE PSI AND LAY PARTIES, IN THE POST-ELECTION SITUATION. JUDGING BY PRESS ACCOUNTS, THE DEBATE WAS LIVELY. SIGNIFICANTLY, THERE WAS BROAD AGREEMENT THAT THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE HAD TO BE COMBATTED AT ALL COSTS. NO CLEAR LINE EMERGED, HOWEVER, ON HOW THIS SHOULD BE DONE.

2. IN PERHAPS THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL SPEECH AT THE CONVENTION, BASE LEADER DE MITA ADVANCED THE VIEW THAT THE JUNE ELECTIONS WERE A POSITIVE AND "NECESSARY SIMPLIFICATION OF THE POLITICAL SCENE." IN HIS VIEW, THE SOCIALISTS NO LONGER ENJOYED STRATEGIC OR PARLIAMENTARY WEIGHT. HE SCOFFED AT THE IDEA ("ILLUSIONARY AND WISHFUL THINKING") THAT A NEW GOVERNMENT MAJORIFY COULD BE FORMED BY RECOUPING THE SOCIALISTS. THE PCI HAD MADE PROGRESS TOWARD "PLURALISM" BUT SUFFICIENT DOUBTS REMAINED NOT TO ACCEPT THE COMMUNISTS UNCRITICALLY. DE MITA'S UNORTHODOX SOLUTION (PRESENTED IN DELIBERATELY VAGUE TERMS) WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IN WHICH BOTH THE DC AND THE PCI WOULD "ALTERNATE" IN GOVERNING THE COUNTRY. BEFORE THE SYSTEM WOULD COME IN BEING, HOWEVER, THE DC AND THE PCI WOULD HAVE TO WORK OUT "INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS" IN ORDER TO SAFEGUARD CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES AT TIMES WHEN THE PCI EXERCISED POWER.

3. COMMENT: THERE WAS LITTLE AGREEMENT IN PRESS ACCOUNTS AS TO WHAT DE MITA MEANT (HE DENIED THAT CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES WOULD BE REQUIRED). HIS PROPOSAL OBTAINED LITTLE SUPPORT, EVEN FROM HIS OWN FACTION. FOR EXAMPLE, BASE LEADER GALLONI (WHO IS ALSO DC DEPUTY SECRETARY) SAID THAT A "BI-PARTY SYSTEM ON THE ANGLO-SAXON MODEL WOULD PRESENT SERIOUS RISKS" AS WELL AS DISTORT THE DC'S ESSENTIAL NATURE "BY REDUCING IT TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE ROLE OF A CONSERVATIVE PARTY."

END COMMENT.

4. IN CONTRAST TO DE MITA, FORZE NUOVE LEADER BODRATO INTERPRETED THE SET-BACK OF THE LAY PARTIES IN THE JUNE ELECTIONS AS A "NEGATIVE" DEVELOPMENT FOR THE DC. FAR FROM WRITING OFF THE PSI, BODRATO CALLED FOR NEW

UNDERSTANDINGS WITH THE SOCIALISTS AND OTHER LAY PARTIES IN ORDER TO AVOID THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. IN CONTRAST TO DE MITA'S WILLINGNESS TO SEE SOME EVOLUTION IN THE PCI, BODRATO WAS EXTREMELY HARSH IN HIS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE PCI. BODRATO SAID THAT THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE WAS NOTHING BUT A TACTICAL STEP TOWARD ESTABLISHMENT OF "MARXIST HEGEMONY." IT WOULD THEREFORE BE FOLLY FOR THE DC TO TAKE PART IN AN OPERATION WHICH IS DIRECTED AT ITS OWN LIQUIDATION. TO ILLUSTRATE HIS POINT ON THE UNRECONSTRUCTED NATURE OF THE PCI, BODRATO NOTED THAT THE PCI'S YOUTH JOURNAL "NUOVE GENERAZIONE" HAD SUSPENDED PUBLICATION, ITS EDITORS "GAGGED" FOR EXPRESSING VIEWS AT VARIANCE WITH THE PARTY LEADERSHIP. BODRATO CONCLUDED THAT DE MITA'S "INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS" TO PRESERVE LIBERTIES WOULD PROVIDE NO FIRMER GUARANTEES OF PCI RESPECT FOR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

5. THE MOROTEI REPRESENTATIVES (MORLINE AND ANDREATTA) DIDN'T PARTICIPATE IN THE BASE-FORZE NUOVE DEBATE ON DC-PCI RELATIONS. ALTHOUGH THEIR AGENDA TOPIC WAS THE ECONOMIC SITUATION, THEY SEEMED TO HAVE COME TO SAINT VINCENT PRIMARILY TO TALK ABOUT INTERNAL PARTY ORGANIZATION. MORLINO DENIED THAT THERE WERE ANY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN ZACCAGNINI AND MORO. ON THE OTHER HAND, HE ALLOWED THAT "THINGS WERE NOT GOING WELL." ANDREATTA WAS MORE EXPLICIT. HE DESCRIBED THE DC AS HAVING TWO SPIRITS--"THE MORE POPULAR ONE REPRESENTED BY ZACCAGNINI, AND THE MORE RATIONAL ONE EXPRESSED BY MORO." ANDREATTA SAID THAT A WAY SHOULD BE FOUND AT THE DC NATIONAL COUNCIL MEETING TO BRING THE TWO COMPLEMENTARY SPIRITS TOGETHER. MORLINO AND ANDREATTA SUGGESTED THAT THIS COULD BE DONE BY ESTABLISHING A "POLITICAL OFFICE" (ATTACHED TO THE PARTY SECRETARY) LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COMPOSED OF THE PARTY'S MOST ABLE LEADERS (IE. MORO) TO DIMINISH THE DISRUPTIVE EFFECT OF THE FACTIONS AND PROVIDE "UNIFIED AND COLLEGIAL" LEADERSHIP. ANDREATTA SAID THAT THE "SPECIAL BODY" WOULD ENABLE THE DC TO BENEFIT FROM MORO'S UNIQUE AND PRECIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS" WITHOUT CONTRADICTING ZACCAGNINI'S ROLE AS THE SECRETARY DIRECTLY ELECTED BY THE CONGRESS.

6. COMMENT: THE MOROTEI PROPOSAL FOUND NO TAKERS AT SAINT VINCENT. DONAT CATTIN IGNORED IT IN HIS SUMMATION SPEECH. MOREOVER, THE PROPOSAL SEEMS TO HAVE BACKFIRED IN THAT IT STIMULATED EXPRESSIONS OF LOYALTY TO ZACCAGNINI FROM THE VERY BASE AND FORZE NUOVE LEADERS WHO HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN MOST CRITICAL OF THE SECRETARY'S LEADERSHIP. THUS, GALLONI CALLED ZACCAGNINI "IRREPLACEABLE," AND DONAT-CATTIN CONCLUDED THE MEETING WITH A RESOUNDING STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY SECRETARY (ROME 15322). ALTHOUGH MORO HAS

MAINTAINED HIS SILENCE, IT SEEMS DOUBTFUL THAT THE MOROTEI COULD HAVE FLOATED THE IDEA AT SAINT VINCENT WITHOUT MORO'S KNOWLEDGE AND AGREEMENT. IN THIS CONNECTION, DEPARTMENT WILL RECALL THAT MORLINO RECENTLY TOLD US (ROME 14907) THAT ZACCAGNINI'S LEADERSHIP COULD BE STRENGTHENED BY CREATION OF A COMPETENT, PROFESSIONAL STAFF. END COMMENT.

7. IN HIS CONCLUDING SPEECH, DONAT-CATTIN TRIED TO MINIMIZE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTICIPANTS. HE DESCRIBED THE DC LEFT AS THE PARTY'S "NEW MAJORITY" (A POINT WHICH WE WOULD QUESTION), A FORCE WHICH MUST ASSERT ITS RIGHT TO GOVERN THE PARTY IF ITS VICTORY AT THE MARCH CONGRESS "WERE NOT TO BECOME BUT AN INCIDENT IN THE CHRONICLE OF THE DC'S MODERATISM." DONAT CATTIN ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE DC LEFT IS UNITED IN REPUDIATING THE HISTORIC COMPROMISE. HE CALLED THE ANDREOTTI MINORITY GOVERNMENT "THE RESULT OF STRICT NECESSITY." IT WOULD NOT LAST FOREVER, AND THE PARTY HAD TO PREPARE FOR THE FUTURE. TO THIS END, DONAT CATTIN SIDED WITH THOSE WHO CONTINUE TO LOOK TOWARD THE PSI AND LAY PARTIES TO ESTABLISH A NEW GOVERNMENT MAJORITY. VOLPE

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